

Message Text

SECRET

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FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5793

S E C R E T CAIRO 7957

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR UNDER SECRETARY SISCO FROM AMBASSADOR

EO 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR IS EG

SUBJECT: POLITICAL ELEMENTS OF INTERIM AGREEMENT

REF: STATE 189237

1. AS WE MOVE CLOSER TO GENERAL AGREEMENT ON THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF A NEW INTERIM AGREEMENT, EGYPTIANS ARE SHOWING SIGNS OF CONCERN ABOUT POLITICAL ASPECTS. YOU WILL HAVE NOTED FROM REPORT OF MY MEETING OF YESTERDAY WITH SADAT THAT HE MADE POINT OF STRESSING THERE CAN BE NO RPT NO MORE POLITICAL CONCESSIONS BEYOND THOSE ALREADY AGREED UPON AT SALZBURG AND GIVEN TO US BY FAHMY. HE IS WORRIED THAT THE ISRAELIS WILL TRY TO UP THE POLITICAL ANTE. FAHMY HAD EARLIER MADE THE SAME POINT (PARA 3, CAIRO 7225) AND, PURSUANT DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS, I TOLD HIM THAT WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO RABIN THAT WHAT WAS DISCUSSED AT SALZBURG WILL HAVE TO PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK FOR CONCLUDING THE NEGOTIATIONS (PARA 5, STATE 174490). FAHMY ALSO RAISED THE SAME POINT WITH ME AGAIN YESTERDAY AT THE ALEXANDRIA AIRPORT. AS THE SECRETARY HAD AUTHORIZED, I GAVE FAHMY A COPY OF JUNE 2 MEMCON COVERING THE MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND FAHMY TO DISCUSS WHAT HAD BEEN AGREED UPON AT SALZBURG.

2. RE THE GAZIT DOCUMENT, THERE APPEARS TO BE GENERAL
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AGREEMENT BETWEEN IT AND THE SALZBURG DISCUSSIONS. AS

YOU SAY, SEVERAL OF THE ISRAELI POINTS GO BEYOND WHAT SADAT HAD AGREED UPON, E.G. PARAS 3, 6 AND, IN MY JUDGMENT, 8 AND 11. IN CONNECTION WITH 6, I HAVE SOME QUESTION AS A PRACTICAL MATTER WHETHER EGYPT IS ABLE TO ASSURE FREEDOM OF ISRAELI FLIGHTS OVER THE RED SEA. ON POINT 7, SADAT HAS IN RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS USED THE PHRASEOLOGY THAT "NON-STRATEGIC ISRAELI-OWNED CARGO" COULD PASS THROUGH THE SUEZ CANAL ON THIRD PARTY VESSELS. I DOUBT THAT THE EGYPTIANS WILL WANT TO SPECIFY "RAW MATERIALS AND OIL" AND RATHER SUSPECT THEY WILL PREFER TO KEEP THE MATTER A BIT FUZZY. THE SAME APPLIES TO THE ISRAELI SUGGESTION THAT THEY WANT MORE SUBSTANTIVE DETAILED CLARIFICATION OF A REDUCTION IN HOSTILE EGYPTIAN-CONTROLLED MEDIA PROPAGANDA AND AN EASING OF THE ECONOMIC BOYCOTT AGAINST ISRAEL ON A SELECTIVE BASIS BEGINNING WITH A FEW AMERICAN COMPANIES. SINCE THESE ARE TOUGH POLITICAL SUBJECTS IN TERMS OF EGYPT'S RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB WORLD, IT WOULD BE GOOD IF THE ISRAELIS UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS WILL HAVE TO BE HANDLED ON A QUIET DE FACTO BASIS. RE II, I DOUBT THAT SADAT WOULD AGREE TO A SCENARIO TO ENABLE THE RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SOME AFRICAN COUNTRIES. THE EGYPTIANS MIGHT LOOK THE OTHER WAY, BUT TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH AN OPERATION STRIKES ME AS UNLIKELY.

3. IN ANY CASE, WHILE THERE ARE SOME DIFFERENCES, AND THERE MAY BE MORE WHEN GAZIT SHOWS UP WITH HIS MORE PRECISE LANGUAGE, I AM SKEPTICAL OF THE DESIRABILITY OF RAISING WITH FAHMY AT THIS TIME SPECIFIC PHRASEOLOGY. I DO THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO GO OVER WITH HIM OUR JUNE 2 MEMCON TO BE SURE THAT IT STILL REFLECTS HIS VIEW. HE, INCIDENTALLY, SHOWED COPY TO VP MOBAREK, PRIMIN SALEM AND GAMASY YESTERDAY, SO THEY ARE ALL AWARE OF IT.

4. UNLESS THERE ARE GLARING DIFFERENCES, WHICH COULD INDEED ARISE IF THE ISRAELIS WANT TO BE TOO PRECISE ON SOME OF THESE POLITICAL COMMITMENTS, THERE IS MUCH TO BE SAID FOR COUNTING ON THE MOMENTUM OF THE SHUTTLE TO OVERCOME THEM. EARLIER DISCUSSIONS WITH FAHMY WILL SIMPLY RESULT IN TYPICAL BARGAINING TACTICS. STILL WORSE, WITH SADAT IN RAS
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EL-HIKMA, IT WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT FOR FAHMY TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT AND GET HIS VIEWS AND APPROVAL.

5. IF, HOWEVER, THE SECRETARY WANTS ME TO GO THROUGH WITH FAHMY THE GAZIT FORMULATIONS, CONCEPTUALLY AND IN TERMS OF SPECIFIC PHRASEOLOGY, I AM OF COURSE PREPARED TO DO SO. FAHMY EXPECTS TO REMAIN IN ALEXANDRIA FOR THE NEXT TEN DAYS OR SO, BUT I COULD

ARRANGE A MEETING THERE AT RELATIVELY SHORT NOTICE.
PLEASE ADVISE THE SECRETARY'S WISHES.
EILTS

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NNN

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